

## Message Text

SECRET

PAGE 01 HELSIN 02297 01 OF 02 201202Z  
ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 /026 W  
-----114754 201216Z /43  
R 200944Z JUL 78  
FM AMEMBASSY HELSINKI  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 2956

S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 2 HELSINKI 2297

EXDIS

E.O. 11652: N/A  
TAGS: PARM, PCAT, UR, US  
SUBJECT: CAT - WORKING PAPER - DRAFT PROGRAM FOR COOPERATION

1. I INTEND TO TABLE THE FOLLOWING "DRAFT PROGRAM FOR COOPERATION" AT FRIDAY'S PLENARY. THIS IS A WORKING PAPER TO INTEGRATE AND FOCUS OUR EFFORTS HERE; EACH COMPONENT HAS PREVIOUSLY BEEN TABLED EITHER IN WORKING GROUPS OR AT PLENARY SESSIONS. I WILL NOTE THAT THIS IS NOT, REPEAT NOT, A DRAFT AGREEMENT OR MUTUAL UNDERSTANDING. I WILL NOTE FURTHER THAT IT IS SUBMITTED WITHOUT PREJUDICE TO QUESTIONS OF IMPLEMENTATION: WHETHER IT WOULD BE A BI-LATERAL OR MULTILATERAL DOCUMENTS, WHETHER IT WOULD BE A SUPPLIER ALONE OR SUPPLIER AND RECIPIENT AGREEMENT, WHAT SPECIFIC LEGAL FORM IT MIGHT TAKE. WE WILL MAKE CHANGES TO THIS DOCUMENT AS APPROPRIATE AS THE NEGOTIATIONS PROCEED, BUT INTEND TO SUBMIT ALL POLICY QUESTIONS TO WASHINGTON FOR GUIDANCE. TEXT FOLLOWS:

2. WORKING PAPER - DRAFT PROGRAM FOR COOPERATION  
EFFECTIVE RESTRAINT OF INTERNATIONAL TRANSFERS OF CONVENTIONAL ARMS WILL OCCUR ONLY THROUGH THE ACCEPTANCE OF A PROGRAM OF COOPERATION BY SUPPLIERS AND RECIPIENTS. ANY SUCH PROGRAMS MUST HAVE THREE ASPECTS: ADOPTION OF MILITARY, TECHNICAL, POLITICAL, AND LEGAL CRITERIA THAT  
SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 02 HELSIN 02297 01 OF 02 201202Z

CAN PROVIDE AN OBJECTIVE BASIS FOR ARMS TRANSFER DECISIONS; INSTITUTION OF PROCEDURES TO IMPLEMENT SUCH CRITERIA; AND ARRANGEMENTS FOR SUPPLIER AND RECIPIENT RESTRAINT ON A REGIONAL BASIS. ADOPTION OF THE FOLLOWING MEASURES WOULD REPRESENT SIGNIFICANT FIRST STEPS TOWARD THE ACHIEVEMENT OF SUCH A PROGRAM OF COOPERATION, AND TOWARD RESTRAINT IN INTERNATIONAL ARMS TRANSFERS.

I. CRITERIA

IF AGREED TO BY BOTH SIDES, AND INCORPORATED INTO THEIR RESPECTIVE ARMS TRANSFER POLICIES AS HARMONIZED NATIONAL GUIDELINES THE FOLLOWING CRITERIA WOULD PROVIDE AN OBJECTIVE BASIS FOR THE RESTRAINT OF ARMS TRANSFERS.

A. MILITARY AND TECHNICAL CRITERIA

EACH GOVERNMENT WOULD:

1. RESTRAIN TRANSFERS OF WEAPONS SYSTEMS PERCEIVED TO HAVE PARTICULAR CAPABILITIES TO ATTACK TARGETS WHICH COVER A WIDE AREA;
2. RESTRAIN TRANSFERS OF WEAPONS WHICH COULD RAISE HUMANITARIAN CONCERNS;
3. RESTRAIN TRANSFERS OF WEAPONS WHICH HAVE PARTICULARLY HIGH POTENTIAL UTILITY TO TERRORISTS OR CRIMINAL GROUPS;
4. RESTRAIN TRANSFERS OF WEAPONS WHICH ARE READILY SUSCEPTIBLE TO MISUSE AGAINST INNOCENT PASSAGE OF NAVAL OR COMMERCIAL VESSELS;
5. NOT INTRODUCE ADVANCED WEAPONS IN A REGION OR SUB-REGION WHICH WOULD CREATE A NEW OR SIGNIFICANTLY HIGHER COMBAT CAPABILITY THERE;
6. RESTRAIN TRANSFERS TO A REGION OR SUB-REGION OF TYPES AND QUANTITIES OF WEAPONS LIKELY TO CREATE A LOCAL MILITARY IMBALANCE, EVEN THOUGH SUCH TYPES MAY HAVE PREVIOUSLY BEEN PROVIDED;
7. RESTRAIN TRANSFERS OF TYPES OR QUANTITIES OF SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 03 HELSIN 02297 01 OF 02 201202Z

WEAPONS WHICH COULD UNDERMINE REGIONAL ARMS CONTROL AGREEMENTS, OR IMPEDE PROGRESS TOWARD SUCH AGREEMENTS; AND

8. NOT TRANSFER INTO A REGION, OR SUPPORT THE INTRODUCTION OF, MILITARY EQUIPMENT OR PERSONNEL WHICH COULD IMPEDE THE PEACEFUL RESOLUTION OF ON-GOING HOSTILITIES.

B. POLITICAL AND LEGAL CRITERIA

EACH GOVERNMENT ALSO WOULD AGREE THAT:

1. INTERNATIONAL ARMS TRANSFER DECISION SHOULD BE BASED ON THE STRICT OBSERVANCE OF THE PURPOSES AND PRINCIPLES ENSHRINED IN THE CHARTER OF THE UNITED NATIONS. IN PARTICULAR:

ARM TRANSFERS MAY BE MADE FOR THE PURPOSE OF ASSISTING A STATE:

- TO MAINTAIN ITS INTERNAL SECURITY;
- TO EXERCISE ITS INHERENT RIGHT TO INDIVIDUAL OR COLLECTIVE SELF-DEFENSE IN ACCORDANCE WITH ARTICLE 51 OF THE CHARTER OF THE UNITED NATIONS, INCLUDING THE DEFENSE OF THE RECIPIENT AGAINST ANY ACT OF AGGRESSION; OR
- TO PARTICIPATE IN REGIONAL OR COLLECTIVE

MEASURES CONSISTENT WITH THE CHARTER OF THE UNITED NATIONS OR MEASURES REQUESTED BY THE UNITED NATIONS FOR MAINTAINING OR RESTORING INTERNATIONAL PEACE AND SECURITY.

SECRET

NNN

SECRET

PAGE 01 HELSIN 02297 02 OF 02 201154Z  
ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 /026 W  
-----114547 201217Z /43  
R 200944Z JUL 78  
FM AMEMBASSY HELSINKI  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 2957

S E C R E T SECTION 2 OF 2 HELSINKI 2297

EXDIS

ARMS TRANSFERS MAY NOT BE MADE FOR THE PURPOSE OF ASSISTING A STATE:

--IN ANY THREAT OR USE OF FORCE AGAINST THE TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY OR POLITICAL INDEPENDENCE OF ANY STATE, OR IN ANY OTHER MANNER INCONSISTENT WITH THE PURPOSES OF THE UNITED NATIONS, INCLUDING ANY ACT OF AGGRESSION;

--IN ANY THREAT OR USE OF FORCE TO VIOLATE THE EXISTING INTERNATIONAL BOUNDARIES OF ANOTHER STATE, OR INTERNATIONAL LINES OF DEMARCATION, SUCH AS ARMISTICE LINES, WHICH IT IS BOUND TO RESPECT; OR

-- IN ANY FORCIBLE ACTION WHICH DEPRIVES PEOPLES OF RIGHTS UNDER THE CHARTER TO SELF-DETERMINATION, FREEDOM AND INDEPENDENCE, OR WHICH DEPRIVES THEM OF THE EXERCISE OF HUMAN RIGHTS AND FUNDAMENTAL FREEDOMS.

ARMS TRANSFERS TO STATES SHOULD BE CONDUCTED IN A MANNER WHICH WILL PROMOTE AND ADVANCE HUMAN RIGHTS AND AVOID IDENTIFICATION OF THE SUPPLIER WITH STATES WHICH DENY TO THEIR PEOPLE INTERNATIONALLY RECOGNIZED HUMAN RIGHTS AND FUNDAMENTAL FREEDOMS IN VIOLATION OF INTERNATIONAL LAW.

ARMS TRANSFERS MAY NOT BE MADE TO A STATE WHEN SUCH TRANSFERS WOULD VIOLATE MEASURES WHICH THE SECURITY

SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 02 HELSIN 02297 02 OF 02 201154Z

COUNCIL HAS DECIDED ARE TO BE EMPLOYED IN ACCORDANCE WITH  
CHAPTER VII OF THE UN CHARTER.

2. ARMS TRANSFER DECISION SHOULD BE CONSISTENT  
WITH:

- THE EXTENT AND CHARACTER OF THE RECIPIENT  
STATE'S MILITARY REQUIREMENTS, WITH PARTICULAR  
REGARD TO THE POSSIBLE IMPACT OF A TRANSFER IN  
FUELING AN ARMS RACE; AND
- THE ECONOMIC AND FINANCIAL CAPABILITY OF THE  
RECIPIENT STATE, WITH PARTICULAR REGARD TO THE  
IMPACT OF A TRANSFER ON PROGRAMS OF ECONOMIC  
AND SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT;
- THE DEVELOPMENT OF BILATERAL OR MULTILATERAL  
ARMS CONTROL ARRANGEMENTS; AND
- THE POSSIBLE IMPACT OF A TRANSFER ON THE  
INTERNATIONAL TRADE IMPLEMENTS OF WAR,  
ON THE DANGER OF OUTBREAK OF REGIONAL CONFLICT,  
AND ON THE BURDEN OF ARMAMENTS.

3. ARMS TRANSFERS SHOULD NOT BE MADE TO A STATE WHICH  
AIDS OR ABETS INTERNATIONAL TERRORISM BY GRANTING TO  
TERRORISTS SANCTUARY FROM PROSECUTION.

#### II. CONSULTATIVE MECHANISM

A MECHANISM SHOULD BE ESTABLISHED FOR REGULAR RE-  
VIEW AND CONSULTATIONS ON THE INTERPRETATION AND  
APPLICATION OF MUTUALLY ACCEPTABLE CRITERIA TO ARMS  
EXPORTS IN SPECIFIC REGIONAL AND SUB-REGIONAL SITUATIONS.

#### III. REGIONAL RESTRAINT

STEPS TOWARD REGIONAL RESTRAINT ARE POSSIBLE ON  
BOTH A LONG-TERM AND NEAR-TERM BASIS. IN THE DECLARA-  
TION ON DISARMAMENT OF THE UNITED NATIONS SPECIAL  
SESSION ON DISARMAMENT, RECIPIENTS AND SUPPLIERS AGREED

SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 03 HELSIN 02297 02 OF 02 201154Z

THAT, "THERE SHOULD ALSO BE NEGOTIATIONS ON THE  
LIMITATION OF INTERNATIONAL TRANSFER OF CONVENTIONAL  
WEAPONS..."

#### A. OBJECTIVES

1. SUPPLIERS SHOULD ENCOURAGE RECIPIENT INITIA-  
TIVES TO REGULATE THE TRANSFER OF CONVENTIONAL ARMS.
2. SUPPLIERS SHOULD SUPPORT AND COMPLY WITH RE-  
CIPIENT RESTRAINT AGREEMENTS ONCE THEY ARE ESTABLISHED.
3. SUPPLIERS AND RECIPIENTS SHOULD CONSULT REG-

ULARLY ON THE OPERATION OF REGIONAL RESTRAINT ARRANGEMENTS TO WHICH THEY ARE PARTIES.

B. IMMEDIATE STEPS

WITH REGARD TO LATIN AMERICA --

1. PUBLIC INDICATION, IN OUR JOINT COMMUNIQUE, OF SUPPORT FOR THE AYACUCHO SIGNATORIES AND THE MEXICAN INITIATIVE COUNTRIES, WITH THE HOPE THAT THIS REGIONAL INITIATIVE WILL INSPIRE OTHER REGIONS.
2. ESTABLISH BETWEEN US THE FOUNDATION FOR AND BROAD OUTLINES OF A BILATERAL SUPPLIERS RESTRAINT REGIME TO SUPPORT LATIN AMERICAN SELF-RESTRAINT.
3. BEGIN IMMEDIATELY TO APPLY THE CRITERIA WE AGREE TO HAVE WHEN RESPONDING TO REQUESTS FOR ARMS TRANSFERS TO LATIN AMERICA.

WITH REGARD TO AFRICA --

4. BEGIN IMMEDIATELY TO APPLY THE CRITERIA WE AGREE TO HERE WHEN RESPONDING TO REQUESTS FOR ARMS TRANSFERS TO SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA.
  5. DISCUSS WITH SUB-SAHARAN AFRICAN STATES THE IMPORTANCE OF RECIPIENT RESTRAINT, INCLUDING INFORMING THEM OF THE CRITERIA WE HAVE ADOPTED.
6. ENCOURAGE SPECIFIC AFRICAN STATES TO ORGANIZE A REGIONAL CONFERENCE ON ARMS RESTRAINT.

RIDGWAY

SECRET

NNN

## Message Attributes

**Automatic Decaptioning:** Z  
**Capture Date:** 01 jan 1994  
**Channel Indicators:** n/a  
**Current Classification:** UNCLASSIFIED  
**Concepts:** PAPERS, MILITARY SALES  
**Control Number:** n/a  
**Copy:** SINGLE  
**Draft Date:** 20 jul 1978  
**Decaption Date:** 20 Mar 2014  
**Decaption Note:** 25 YEAR REVIEW  
**Disposition Action:** RELEASED  
**Disposition Approved on Date:**  
**Disposition Case Number:** n/a  
**Disposition Comment:** 25 YEAR REVIEW  
**Disposition Date:** 20 Mar 2014  
**Disposition Event:**  
**Disposition History:** n/a  
**Disposition Reason:**  
**Disposition Remarks:**  
**Document Number:** 1978HELSIN02297  
**Document Source:** CORE  
**Document Unique ID:** 00  
**Drafter:** n/a  
**Enclosure:** DG ALTERED PER 78 HELSINKI 2618  
**Executive Order:** GS  
**Errors:** N/A  
**Expiration:**  
**Film Number:** D780298-0182  
**Format:** TEL  
**From:** HELSINKI  
**Handling Restrictions:**  
**Image Path:**  
**ISecure:** 1  
**Legacy Key:** link1978/newtext/t19780736/aaaabdzp.tel  
**Line Count:** 249  
**Litigation Code IDs:**  
**Litigation Codes:**  
**Litigation History:**  
**Locator:** TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM  
**Message ID:** 51ff146f-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc  
**Office:** ACTION SS  
**Original Classification:** SECRET  
**Original Handling Restrictions:** EXDIS  
**Original Previous Classification:** n/a  
**Original Previous Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Page Count:** 5  
**Previous Channel Indicators:** n/a  
**Previous Classification:** SECRET  
**Previous Handling Restrictions:** EXDIS  
**Reference:** n/a  
**Retention:** 0  
**Review Action:** RELEASED, APPROVED  
**Review Content Flags:**  
**Review Date:** 20 may 2005  
**Review Event:**  
**Review Exemptions:** n/a  
**Review Media Identifier:**  
**Review Release Date:** n/a  
**Review Release Event:** n/a  
**Review Transfer Date:**  
**Review Withdrawn Fields:** n/a  
**SAS ID:** 1932834  
**Secure:** OPEN  
**Status:** NATIVE  
**Subject:** CAT - WORKING PAPER - DRAFT PROGRAM FOR COOPERATION  
**TAGS:** PARM, PCAT, UR, US  
**To:** STATE  
**Type:** TE  
**vdkgvwkey:** odbc://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS\_Docs/51ff146f-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc  
**Review Markings:**  
Sheryl P. Walter  
Declassified/Released  
US Department of State  
EO Systematic Review  
20 Mar 2014  
**Markings:** Sheryl P. Walter Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 20 Mar 2014